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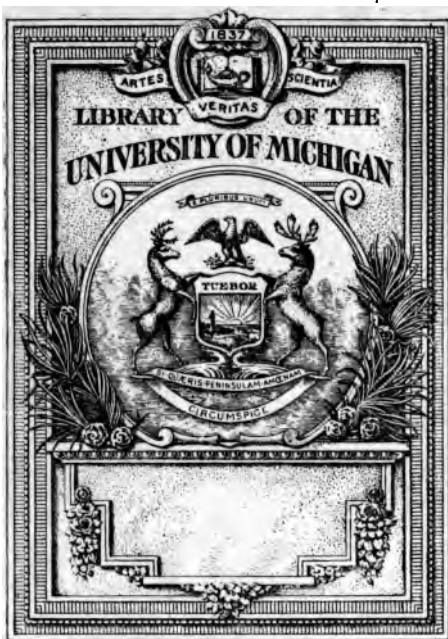
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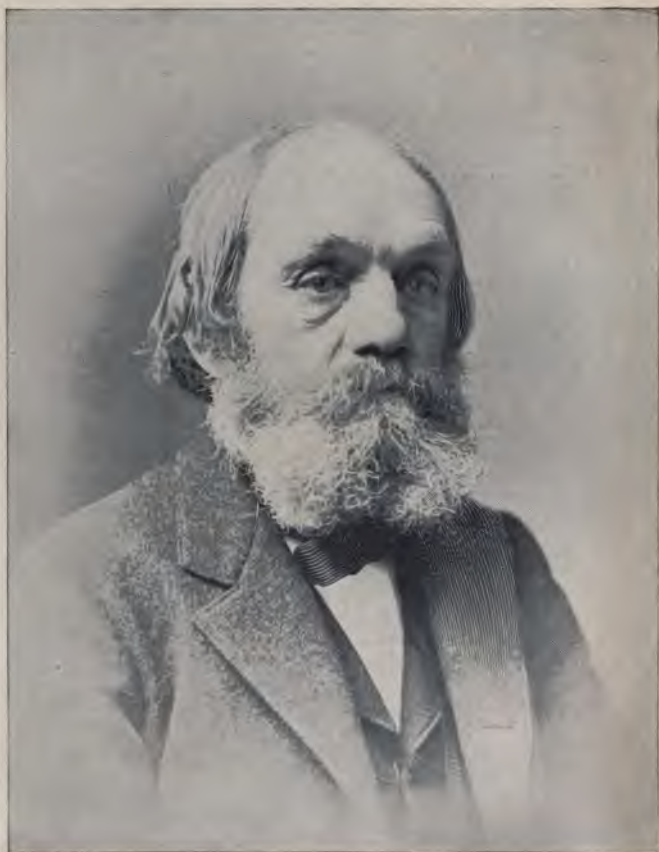
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INDEPENDENCE
DAY ♣ ♣ ♣ ♣ ♣ ♣

AN ADDRESS



BY EDWARD E. HALE

Philadelphia ♣ ♣ ♣ ♣ ♣

HENRY ALTEMUS



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PHILADELPHIA

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

The Declaration of our Independence stated a fact in history.

It declares that the Thirteen States agreeing to it ARE free and independent states.

In making this declaration, it announces an existing fact. "These states *are* independent" of any foreign power: this is the statement of the Congress. The members of the Congress do not say that the states will be independent, or that they propose to be independent. They state the fact of history, known to them, known to the Thirteen States which they represent, that they *are* free and independent.

We speak of to-day as the one hundred and seventeenth anniversary of Independ-

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ence. We are more accurate when we say that to-day is the one hundred and seventeenth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. To say the truth, most of these colonies had been independent of England almost from the moment when the first settlers planted their feet upon American soil.

The Declaration differs thus—it differs by the whole sky—from the declaration by which Texas announces that it will be independent of Mexico. It differs from any declaration by which Athens or Sparta, seventy years ago, might have said, “We will be independent of the Sublime Porte.” It differs from any declaration by which Venezuela or Peru might have said, “We will be independent of Spain”; or Brazil, “We will be independent of Portugal.”

Such declarations are very noble and very grand. But they state a purpose

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and a hope only. The Declaration of the Thirteen States states a square fact of history: "These United Colonies ARE and of Right ought to be, Free and Independent States."

It is with peculiar pleasure that I find myself invited to speak of this Declaration thus, as a simple record of history. It is at the beginning of the summer work of the People's College that this great anniversary recurs. It is this accident, shall I say, which gives me the opportunity to speak of it as one of the historical memorials of the time. Very naturally, in the exultation of a century and more, men have been glad to exhaust their rhetoric in enthusiasm for the prophetic vision of the fathers who signed it,—signed it with the ropes around their necks. It is natural, seeing that such a poet as Jefferson was the author of it, that men should read, between the lines,

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Jefferson's forecast of the noble realities which have followed fast upon the Declaration. I do not pretend to speak in censure of any such enthusiasm in the utterance of to-day or of the last hundred and twenty years. But none the less am I glad that it falls upon me, in the few minutes for which I shall ask your attention, to speak of this distinctive characteristic of the great Declaration—that it declares a fact, and not a hope alone. These Thirteen States ARE Independent.

The old Greek word *metropolis* represented a condition of things which was quite familiar in history. From the metropolis to the colony there went forth supplies, stores, soldiers, munitions of war. The sovereign in the metropolis was supposed to exercise a condescending paternal care over the colonies which were growing up under his protection and advice. As matter of practice, noth-

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ing can be more paternal—I had almost said, more intimate—than the care which Louis XIV. took, from such a metropolis, of his colony in Canada. We have copies of the original instructions which Louis XIV. sent—and sent often, it would seem, at his own instance—to his agents, to his servants, who were bringing up Canada for the French crown. In the lectures which I have the honor to read to you, I have had more than one occasion to show how a similar solicitude for the funny little colony at Orleans engaged the Regency and the Crown of France in the eighteenth century. A colony like that—such a colony, as I said just now, as Brazil or Peru—may find occasion, in the course of history, to proclaim that it means to try to be independent of the parent who nursed it and from whom it was born.

But no such relationship existed, or ever

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had existed, between the leading colonies among the Thirteen and the Kingdom of Great Britain. The analogy, if it is to be sought at all, is to be sought in the short history of the state of Georgia. Here, in a fit of quasi-philanthropy, the King of England and the government of his time had permitted themselves to be engaged in a sort of mock Louis XIV. business, and had sent over some people who founded Georgia as late as 1733. In the much cited instance of Carolina, John Locke, for so many years the secretary of the Commissioners for the Plantations, drew up a fanciful constitution, which never pleased anybody, and which, in fact, hardly ever existed except upon paper. But these are the only exceptions to which I need give so much as a minute, in the general flow of the history of the States which made the American union. The colony of Massachusetts, at

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the beginning, took care to have no relations whatever with the Crown. From the beginning till Charles I. fell, there will not be found a document of the slightest importance addressed by the independent state of Massachusetts Bay to any secretary of the King. On the other hand, it proved, very early in their affairs, that they would not display the flag of England on their fort when they were asked to do so by an officer in King Charles's navy. When they found themselves threatened by that navy, they considered first the means of fortifying Boston that they might keep out the invasion of their own sovereign; and, second, they discussed the best method of removing to the valley of the Mohawk, into a sealed wilderness where no Stuart should dare to come.

Something similar to this could be said of Virginia. It may be doubted whether an ounce of powder or lead from the royal

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stores was ever furnished for that colony. Nothing is more certain than that William Penn, in the colony which established Pennsylvania, received no help from the Crown. "Nourished by your care?"—these are the words ascribed to James Otis—"It was your oppression that drove us to America. Our fathers plunged into the ocean, with the charter of freedom in their teeth, and left the faggot and the sword behind them."

Coming later down, we do not ourselves, perhaps, remember, as definitely as we should, the condition of these thirteen provinces on the 4th of July, 1776, at the moment when the Declaration was published. The royal government had held small garrisons at Crown Point and at Ticonderoga, but the Green Mountain Boys and the Connecticut troops under Allen and Arnold had struck the royal flag there more than a year before, and

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these forts were now garrisoned by the Continental army. Four months before the Declaration, in March, Howe and his army had sullenly withdrawn from Boston, and had taken refuge as far away as Halifax. "*Hostibus primo fugatis*" was the proud motto of the medal Congress had conferred upon Washington. Clinton, with a large detachment, had threatened South Carolina, but the fleet and the army which embarked in it had been disgracefully driven away by the single province of Carolina. Of this signal victory the news had not yet arrived in Philadelphia. The royal governors of Virginia and New York had been obliged to take refuge upon the ships of the royal navy. There was, therefore, hardly a soldier of King George on duty between the province of Maine and the new-born state of Georgia.

True, all parties knew that a war-cloud



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was gathering on the horizon ; all parties knew that the ministry were redoubling their efforts to reconquer the land from which their soldiers had been driven. In point of fact, when Howe, a month after, gathered his forces at Staten Island, he had under his command the largest European army which was ever seen in North America from the beginning up to our Civil War. But, in this great first week of July, when the Declaration of Independence was discussed, was signed, and was issued, New England west of the Penobscot was without an English soldier ; Carolina could say much the same thing, and so could the Middle States and Virginia. By different movements of the people, even the pretense of royalty had been swept away, and these states were in fact independent, as they declared themselves to be.



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I do not mean that the fifty-six men who signed the Declaration thought they had an easy task before them. Nothing could be harder than their duty. I do not mean that the little world of Lord North's cabinet, or the larger world of Europe, regarded their bold Declaration as the announcement of a fact. The world of Europe knew and cared very little about them. The cabinet of Lord North cared a great deal, but, as it proved, knew very little. George the Third, unfortunately, took the notion, early in his reign, that he was a Bourbon king; a "Brummagem Louis XIV.," somebody calls him. He thought that the Court of St. James had the same relation to Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, which St. Germain and Versailles had had to Canada and to Louisiana. It was necessary to undeceive him, and to teach him that these thirteen united colonies "ARE and

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of right ought to be Independent States."

It was true that, under the several Charters, some broken-winded soldier or some penniless courtier was sent over from time to time to be what was called "Governor of Virginia," "Governor of New York," "Governor of New England." But how did the poor creatures govern? How did they get the daily bread for their wives and little ones, or the butter for the bread? It was they who were dependent on the colonies, not the colonies who were dependent on them! Poor Lord Bellomont, governor of all New England and New York under Queen Anne, was walking home one day from the Thursday Lecture in Boston. The poor man had to hear it once a week, lest he should offend the General Court of the Province of Massachusetts, who voted him his annual salary. As the gov-

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ernor's cortège passed an apothecary's shop in the Main Street, his Excellency said to the shop-keeper, who was lounging at the door, "You have lost a precious sermon, Doctor." "I would have heard it," said the impudent apothecary, "if I had been paid for it as well as your Lordship was." That is the way in which, under such auspices, an apothecary speaks to the representative of Queen Anne. And the governor cannot help himself, because what the apothecary says is founded on the truth. The Crown is dependent on the colony. The colony is independent of the Crown.

Earlier than this, in the reign of Charles the Second, the combination of all the savages of New England had threatened the four colonies there with extermination. One in eleven of all their men were killed in war. More than that number carried the wounds of battle to their

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graves. Nearly half their towns were raided by the savages. It was a question, close to every man's thought, whether they should not be all swept into the sea. So near was the exigency, to one which should leave the colony of New England to be marked only by such traces as we find of the Norse colony on the coast of Greenland. When it was all over, and peace reëstablished, their friends in England asked them why they had not sent for help. In fact, they had not sent for an ounce of lead or a thimbleful of powder. The answer was very simple. They had no concern with Charles II., beyond sending him now and then a complimentary present of a barrel of cranberries to flavor his Christmas dinner ; or perhaps a cargo of spars, to show him what they could sell him for his navy. As for the savages ; that is our affair — it is none of his. We coin our own money. We

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fight our own enemies. "We are and of right ought to be Independent States."

The presence of a few thousand English troops in the French war, which began with Braddock's defeat and ended in Wolfe's victory, did not change this habit of independence. Braddock's campaign gave nobody here any high idea of their sovereign's skill in government. Abercrombie's wretched failure before Ticonderoga was another object-lesson. Aunt Nabby was his nickname with the New England contingent to his army. If Wolfe took Quebec (with the help of his American troops), Pepperell had taken Louisburg without the help of the English army. Indeed, I suppose that if an account were struck between the debit and credit sides, it would prove that the thirteen colonies had furnished more troops and sailors to England, for war outside their bounds, than England had ever fur-

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nished them for purely American quarrels. The presence of an English soldier became a curiosity, and the "British grenadier," who supposed his red coat the finest dress in the world, found himself ridiculed as a "lobster back," when at last he was landed in America.

The value of such reminiscences to-day is in their lesson to mankind of what we mean when we speak of SELF-GOVERNMENT.

If to-day the farmer in Algeria, under the paternal rule of France, wants a bridge across a stream, he must send to Paris to have a board of engineers make the designs for the bridge. Then, in the fullness of time, perhaps when his grandson is ready to marry some pretty girl on the other side of the river, an engineer officer from Paris will come to make the necessary surveys.

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If, on the other hand, an American farmer in Montana or in Wyoming wants a bridge, he goes across to his neighbor opposite and they "talk the thing over." They then turn out with their oxen, and their axes, and their "help," and they build the bridge.

This is Self-Government.

It would be fair to say that, from the times of Feudalism till now, Europe has never understood it ; does not understand it to-day.

The writers of Europe think that when we talk of Self-Government we mean "Representative Government." Now, Representative Government is a very good thing ; but "Self-Government" is behind it in America. But because of Self-Government the American republics are different from any others in the world. This is their standing lesson to Europe.

When at last they defied King George,

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long before their representative body here declared their independence, the local governments—I might say the individuals—had declared war against him. When the town of Pembroke, which perhaps could not bring a hundred men into the field, in a legal town-meeting orders its selectmen to buy so many flints and so much powder, knowing that every man, under the law, must own, already, his own gun—what is that but a declaration of war against the King? And when you study the two battles with which the Revolution begins—Lexington and Bunker Hill—you find that each is “the People’s Battle.” On the day of Lexington there was no pretense at command. An insulted people turned out *en masse* and drove the red wolf back to his den.

At the battle of Bunker Hill it proved, by the death roll, that on that grim cal-

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endar every regiment in the army of investment had a representative, whether that regiment had or had not been ordered to the field. And from that hour to this it has been matter of controversy among the New England historians, who was the American commander. There was no supreme command this side the good God! It was the People's Battle!

The duty of America to the world, I say, is to repeat with pitiless iteration this lesson of Self-Government, of Home Rule, of the origin of Independence. To-day, under the shadow of Independence Hall, the lesson speaks louder than ever. It was not the Continental Congress who devised the Independence of America and then suggested it to the people. It was the people of America, who were already independent, who forced the Continental Congress to declare that independence to

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mankind. The Declaration announces a fact, and not merely a wish or a possibility.

With his wife and child the American settler goes into a wilderness. He has not to ask permission to go. He goes. He asks no one to choose his land. He chooses. He asks no one to build his road. He builds it. No one tells him what crop to plant. He plants it. In this absolute freedom of the man comes in that element of strength which belongs to self-reliance, and to that alone. In return, to the country which thus trusts him, which gives to him the priceless gift of freedom, he on his part offers his life readily when she demands it.

A Russian gentleman once expressed his surprise to me, that in travelling thousands of miles in America he had never seen a soldier. "Why should you see a soldier," said I, "where there are no enemies? Are not your letters



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brought you promptly ?” I asked. “ Absolutely,” he replied. And I was able to say, proudly, that the frontiersman really only knew the National Government as it extended to him such blessings. It brought him his letters from home. It guaranteed his title to his farm. The state government, when it came, would give him a school for his children. But he might never know the presence of a tax gatherer. I was myself forty years old before a tax collector ever entered my house. Such a citizen grows up, unhampered by restriction, free to serve God as he will. No man can estimate or state in figures the value of his service to the state, or his loyalty in her defense in any moment of her trial.

Self-rule like this is what made these Thirteen Colonies to be Independent States, and made it so easy to declare their independence. And that lesson of

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Home Rule, as I say, is the lesson of America to mankind. Austria begins to learn it when she concedes, not too cordially, the self-rule of Hungary. Italy learned part of it, so gladly, when she wrested her independence from Austria. Sweden and Norway learned something of it, when each conceded the autonomy of each other. France might learn lessons of worth, if she would give some measure of local regulation to the people of her diverse provinces. England is yet to learn it, when she concedes to Ireland, probably to Scotland and to Wales, home management in home affairs.

But this does not mean, as all experience has shown, Representative Government alone. It means Self-Government. It means that the workman in Philadelphia shall work at his business or shall rest from his toil as he chooses, not at the command of any superior in Chicago.

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When the dazed English colonel at Ticonderoga asked Ethan Allen by whose authority he summoned him to surrender, Allen said he did it "in the name of God and the Continental Congress." Because he had been trained in the absolute freedom of the Hampshire grants, he was a fit agent — not servant — of the Congress. Without that Self-Government, he could have worked no such miracle.

One hundred years ago, the Abbé Genty — a distinguished French scholar of that time, now long since forgotten — published an essay on the Result of the Discovery of America by Europe. At the very end of his paper he says—writing in 1792—"The independence of the Anglo-Americans is the event most likely to accelerate the revolution which is to renew the happiness of the world. In

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the bosom of this new nation are the true treasures which are to renew the world." He names the relief to crowded Europe as one of the blessings which are to come to mankind. The Emancipation of Slaves, the End of Conquest, Universal Peace, the Conversion of the World to Christianity, are others. All these are to spring from the freedom, truth, honor, and, in general, virtue of three millions of Americans; and he finds nothing else for them to spring from.

He was perfectly right. These three million people, in thirteen states, "which are and of right ought to be independent," had no gold or silver in their mines. They had no diamonds or rubies for crowns. They had no sugars or spices for commerce. As he says, they had their virtues—and they had little more.

But they had these—and they had Freedom. And to those who have these,

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all the things of earth are added. We know that on high authority.

All they could do was this : They could say to every man and woman, " You are a child of God. Here is the world of God. Enter. We will do our best. There shall be no king. There shall be no subject. There shall be no master. There shall be no slave. There shall be no lord. There shall be no vassal. There shall be no boss. There shall be no follower."

It took them seventy years to say all this. When they did say it their prosperity began. Estimate as you please the wealth of this nation in 1861, when she spoke the last syllable and emancipated her slaves. Her wealth is now, after thirty years, five times what it was then. All that skill and industry, art and nature had accumulated since John Smith and the Virginians starved at Jamestown in 1607—all that 253 years had brought into

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existence in 1860—has been multiplied fivefold in the thirty-four years which have followed 1860. This is the gift which the Father of men, whom they call the God of nature, gives to his children when they do their duty ; when they govern themselves.

This lesson of the centuries is the eternal lesson. It is not gold, nor silver, nor brass, nor lead, nor iron, which makes success. It is Truth, Honor and Justice. It is Faith, Hope and Love. It is—as this forgotten Abbé said—on the virtues of mankind and the freedom of mankind that the future of mankind is to be builded.

In CONGRESS, July 4, 1776.

A DECLARATION

By the REPRESENTATIVES of the

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

IN GENERAL CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

WHEN in the Course of human Events, it becomes necessary for one People to dissolve the Political Bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the Earth, the separate and equal Station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent Respect to the Opinions of Mankind requires that they should declare the Causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness, — That to secure these Rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just Powers from the Consent of the Governed, that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these Ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Gov-

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ernment, laying its foundation on such Principles, and organizing its Powers in such Form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient Causes; and accordingly all Experience hath shewn, that Mankind are more disposed to suffer, while Evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the Forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long Train of Abuses and Usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object, evinces a Design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their Right, it is their Duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future Security. Such has been the patient Sufferance of these Colonies, and such is now the Necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The History of the present King of Great-Britain is a History of repeated injuries and Usurpations, all having in direct Object the Establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid World.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public Good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing Importance, unless suspended in their Operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

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He has refused to pass other Laws for the Accommodation of large Districts of People, unless those People would relinquish the Right of Representation in the Legislature, a Right inestimable to them, and formidable to Tyrants only.

He has called together Legislative Bodies at Places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the Depository of their public Records, for the sole Purpose of fatiguing them into Compliance with his Measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly Firmness his Invasions on the Rights of the People.

He has refused for a long Time, after such Dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the meantime exposed to all the Dangers of Invasion from without, and Convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that Purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their Migrations hither, and raising the Conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for

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the Tenure of their Offices, and the Amount and Payment of their Salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new Offices, and sent hither Swarms of Officers to harass our People, and eat out their Substance.

He has kept among us, in Times of Peace, Standing Armies, without the Consent of our Legislatures.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the civil Power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a Jurisdiction foreign to our Constitution, and unacknowledged by our Laws; given his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation :

For quartering large Bodies of armed Troops among us :

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from Punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States :

For cutting off our Trade with all Parts of the World :

For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent :

For depriving us, in many Cases, of the Benefits of Trial by Jury :

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended Offences :

For abolishing the free system of English Laws in a neighbouring Province establishing therein an arbitrary Government, and enlarging its Boundaries, so as to ren-

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der it at once an Example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute Rule into these Colonies :

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments :

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all Cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our Seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our Towns, and destroyed the Lives of our People.

He is at this Time, transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to complete the Works of Death, Defolation and Tyranny, already begun with Circumstances of Cruelty and Perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous Ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized Nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the Executioners of their Friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited Domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the Inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of Warfare, is an undistinguished Destruction, of all Ages, Sexes and Conditions.

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In every Stage of these Oppressions we have petitioned for Redress, in the most humble Terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated Injury. A Prince, whose Character is thus marked by every Act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the Ruler of a free People.

Nor have we been wanting in Attention to our British Brethren. We have warned them from Time to Time of Attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable Jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the Circumstances of our Emigration and Settlement here. We have appealed to their native Justice and Magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the Ties of our common Kindred to disavow these Usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our Connections and Correspondence. They too have been deaf to the Voice of Justice and of Consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the Necessity which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of Mankind, Enemies in War; in Peace, Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in GENERAL CONGRESS assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the Rectitude of our Intentions, do in the Name and by the Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly Publish and Declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be, FREE AND IN-

of Independence.

DEPENDENT STATES; that they are absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political Connection between them and the State of Great-Britain, is, and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which INDEPENDENT STATES may of Right do. And for the Support of this Declaration, with a firm Reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honor.

Signed by ORDER and in BEHALF of the CONGRESS,

JOHN HANCOCK, President.

ATTEST.

CHARLES THOMPSON, Secretary.

John Hancock
Sam^l Adams Lib. Livingston
Rob^t Treat Paenle *W^m Lloyd*

John Adams Fran.^d Lewis
Elbridge Gerry
Josiah Bartlett Buck Stockton
Sam^l Huntington

Step^r Hopkins John Hart
Abra Clark Lewis Morris

John Morton
Matthew Thompson
Roger Sherman John Penn

Gym Whipple Jas Wickenspearle
William Ellery Hooper
Oliver Wolcott Rob Morris

Ben^l Franklin W^m Williams

W^m Paea
Hra^s Hopkinson Thos Stone
Charles Carroll of Carrollton

Th Jefferson Geo Taylor
Edward Rutledge Joseph Hewes
Jas Smith Geo Ross
Geo Lymer Thos Keane

Buckton, Gwinnett.
James Wilson Gedraid
Thomas Lynch Junr
Samuel Chas. George Wythe.
Benjamin Ellis Lyman Hall
Richard Henry Lee
Arthur Middleton Thos Nelson
Casar Rodney Carter Braxton
Benj Harrison Geo Walton
Thos Heyward Junr
Francis Lightfoot Lee

THE SIGNERS OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

It is a fact worthy of special record, and one which ought to excite the honest pride of every American, that not one of that noble band who pledged life, fortune, and honor to the support of American independence, ever fell from his high moral position before the world, or dimmed, by word or deed, that brilliant page of history on which their names are written. In the following brief sketches of their public career this fact is illustrated.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Josiah Bartlett was born at Amesbury, Massachusetts, in November, 1729. He studied medicine, and practised as a physician at Kingston, in New Hampshire. There he entered into politics, was elected a member of the Colonial Legislature, and was always found in opposition to measures of oppression. He was one of the Committee of Safety in 1775, and held the office of colonel of a militia regiment, and at the close of the year was elected to a seat in the Continental Congress. He voted for independence, and was the first to sign the Declaration after John Hancock. He was subsequently Judge of the Supreme Court of his State, and in the convention to consider the Federal Constitution, he took an active part in the affirmative. He was elected first president, and then governor of New Hampshire. He died May 19, 1795.

Matthew Thornton was born in Ireland in 1714, and came to

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America with his parents when he was three years old. His father first settled in Maine, but soon went to Worcester, Massachusetts, where his son received an academic education. He studied for, and became, a physician, and in 1745 was appointed surgeon-general to the New Hampshire troops in the expedition against Louisburg. He also held royal commissions as justice of the peace, and colonel of militia. He was chosen delegate for New Hampshire to the Continental Congress in 1776, and during that year was made chief-justice of the Court of Common Pleas for New Hampshire. He was soon raised to the bench of the Superior Court. He died June 24, 1803.

William Whipple was born at Kittery, Maine, in 1730. He was partially educated at a common school, and at an early age went to sea. In 1759 he began business as a merchant in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. He was chosen a representative in the Provincial Congress of that State in 1775, and in 1776 was elected to the Continental Congress. In 1777 he was made a brigadier-general of the New Hampshire militia, and was active in calling out troops to oppose Burgoyne. He was in the battles of Stillwater and Saratoga, assisted in the negotiations for the surrender of Burgoyne, and was one of the officers who conducted the captive army to Cambridge. He remained in active public service, and in 1782 was appointed to a judgeship in his State. He died November 28, 1785.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Samuel Adams was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on September 22, 1722. He was educated for the ministry at Harvard College, but preferring politics to theology, he never took orders. During the ten years of excitement preceding the Revolution, he was a conspicuous leader on the popular side. In the Con-

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tinental Congress, where he was a representative of his native State, he was one of the warmest advocates for independence. After leaving Congress, he was very active in Massachusetts, especially in framing the State Constitution, under which he was chosen governor. He was a man eminently fitted for the times in which he lived, and he made a powerful impression upon the political features of his generation. He died October 2, 1823.

John Adams was born at Quincy, Massachusetts, on October 19, 1735. He graduated at Harvard University when he was but twenty years old, and soon afterward began practising law in Boston. He was brought prominently into political life by his defense of Captain Preston after the "Boston Massacre" in 1770, and he was elected to the Massachusetts Legislature. He was elected to the Continental Congress in 1774, where he was always a leading spirit. He was sent on missions to England and Holland, and on his return he assisted in framing the Constitution for his State. He assisted in the peace negotiations with Great Britain, and was our first minister to London. He was elected vice-president of the United States with Washington, and reached the presidency in 1797. He retired to Quincy in 1801, and engaged but little in public life afterward. He died July 4, 1826.

John Hancock was born at Quincy, Massachusetts, in 1737. He graduated at Harvard College in 1754, and engaged in business with his uncle, a wealthy merchant of Boston, who was childless and adopted him as a son. He was successively elected a selectman of Boston and a member of the General Court. He became very popular, and on the formation of the Provincial Congress of his State, he was elected its president. In 1775 he was made president of the Continental Congress, and in that capacity placed his bold signature first to the great *Declaration*.

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Ill health compelled him to leave Congress, but not the duties of public life. He assisted in framing the Constitution for his State, and served as governor under it from 1780 till 1793, with the exception of but one year. He died October 8, 1793.

Robert Treat Paine was a native of Massachusetts, born in 1731. He graduated at Harvard, studied theology, and was a chaplain in the army, on the frontier, in 1758. He afterward studied law, and became a good practitioner. He was brought into public life by acting for the attorney-general in the trial of Captain Preston. He was a delegate to the Continental Congress of 1774, and was there again in 1776. Under the Massachusetts Constitution, adopted in 1780, he was appointed attorney-general. He held that office till 1796, when he was elevated to the bench of the Supreme Court of his State. He resigned in 1804, and was appointed one of the State counselors. In the course of the year he retired from public life. He died May 11, 1814.

Elbridge Gerry was born in Marblehead, Massachusetts, on July 17, 1744. He graduated at Harvard College in 1762, and prepared for commercial life. He was elected to the State Legislature in 1773, was chosen a member of the Provincial Congress in 1774, soon afterward sent as a delegate to the Continental Congress. He held a front rank in that body on commercial and naval subjects, and was a very useful committeeman. He was opposed to the Federal Constitution, but yielded his opinion when it became the organic law of the republic. He was appointed an envoy to France in 1797, and was popular there. He was elected governor of Massachusetts on his return, afterward was made vice-president of the United States, and died in Washington City, while holding that office, on November 23, 1814.

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RHODE ISLAND.

Stephen Hopkins was born at Scituate (then a part of Providence), Rhode Island, on March 7, 1707. He was a self-taught man. He was a member and speaker of the Rhode Island Assembly, and in 1754 was a member of the convention of delegates from the several colonies held at Albany, New York. He was a member of the first Continental Congress in 1774, and again in 1776. He left that body in 1778, and was subsequently a member of the State Legislature. He died July 19, 1785.

William Ellery was born at Newport, Rhode Island, on December 22, 1727. He graduated at Harvard in 1747, and began the study and practice of the law. He was an early opponent of British misrule, and became a member of the Continental Congress in 1776. He suffered much from the enemy during the war. He continued a member of the Congress till 1785, at the same time holding the office of Judge of the Supreme Court of Rhode Island. He was the first collector of the port of Newport under the Federal Constitution, which office he held till his death on February 15, 1820.

CONNECTICUT.

Roger Sherman was born at Newtown, near Boston, on April 19, 1721. He was bred a shoemaker, and followed that business till his twenty-second year, when he studied law. He was admitted to the bar in 1754, and was soon after elected to the Connecticut Legislature. A few years later he was appointed a judge of the Common Pleas, and was soon elevated to the bench of the Superior Court of his State. He was a member of the Continental Congress in 1775, where his services were of great utility. He was one of the committee appointed to draft the Declaration

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of Independence, and cheerfully signed that document. ~ He continued a member of Congress till 1789. He died July 25, 1793.

Samuel Huntington was born in Windham, Connecticut, on July 2, 1732. He received only a common-school education, but, choosing the law for a profession, he became so proficient that he was appointed a King's attorney. He was soon raised to the bench of the Superior Court. In 1775 he was elected to the Continental Congress, and was chosen president of that body in 1779. He served several years in Congress, at different times, and was always active in public life in his native State. He was appointed chief-justice of Connecticut, elected lieutenant-governor, and in 1786 he succeeded to the chief magistracy of the State. He died January 5, 1796.

William Williams was born in Connecticut on April 18, 1731, and graduated at Harvard College in 1751. He studied theology, but subsequently entered the army, and fought at Lake George in 1755. After his return, he was chosen clerk of his town, which office he held almost fifty years. He was a member of the legislature for forty-five years, and was a delegate in the Continental Congress in 1776, and was a warm advocate of independence. He died on August 20, 1811.

Oliver Wolcott was born in Connecticut in 1726. He graduated at Yale College in 1747. In 1774 he was elected a member of the Council of State, which office he held until 1786. He was a member of the Continental Congress in 1776, and was an active officer throughout the Revolution. He was a member of Congress till 1786, and was either in that body or in the field the whole time. He was elected lieutenant-governor of his State in 1786, which office he held until elected governor, ten years afterward. He died on December 1, 1797.

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NEW YORK.

William Floyd was born in Long Island, on December 17, 1734. He was an early patriot, and being opulent and popular, he was chosen to represent that section of New York in the Continental Congress of 1774. During the entire war he was engaged in public life, and suffered much loss at the hands of the British. He moved to the banks of the Mohawk after the war. He died August 4, 1821.

Philip Livingstone was born in Albany, New York, on January 15, 1716. He graduated at Yale College in 1737, and then engaged in business in New York City, where he was eminently successful. He was an alderman, and in 1754 was a member of the Colonial Convention at Albany. He was a delegate in Congress in 1776, and was on the committee which drafted the *Declaration*. After the adoption of the Constitution by his State, he was a member of the Senate. He was again elected a member of Congress, but death soon deprived the country of his services. He died while attending Congress at York, Pennsylvania, on June 12, 1778.

Francis Lewis was born in South Wales, in 1713. He was partly educated in Scotland, and was then sent to Westminster. He entered a mercantile house in London, and when he was twenty-one years old, came to America, and began business in New York. He was an agent here of British merchants in 1756, and was made a prisoner and sent to France. He returned to America, and became an active politician. He was elected a delegate to the Congress in 1775, and served there for several years. He owned property on Long Island which the British destroyed. He suffered much in loss of property during the war. He died in January, 1798.

Lewis Morris was born in New York in 1726. He graduated

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at Yale College in 1746, and then retired to the farm of his father in Lower Westchester, near Harlem. He took sides with the patriots when the war broke out, and was sent to the Continental Congress as a delegate in 1775. He was a member in 1776 and 1777, when he was succeeded by his brother, Gouverneur Morris. He suffered much in loss of property during the war. He died in January, 1798.

NEW JERSEY.

Richard Stockton was born near Princeton, on October 1, 1730. He graduated at Princeton College in 1748, studied law, and rose rapidly to eminence. He visited Great Britain in 1767, where he became acquainted with many distinguished men. He was an ardent patriot, and in 1776 he was elected a delegate to Congress. While returning from an official visit to the northern army he was made a prisoner and treated with much cruelty. His constitution became shattered before his release, and sinking gradually, he died on February 28, 1781.

John Witherspoon was a native of Scotland, and was born on February 5, 1732. He was educated at Edinburgh, studied divinity, and was ordained a minister in the Scotch Church. He came to America by invitation in 1768, and was made president of Princeton College, where he became very popular. He was a warm patriot and espoused the cause of freedom with great energy. He was a delegate to the Continental Congress in 1776, and with pen and speech he ably advocated American independence throughout the war. He continued in Congress several years. He died on November 15, 1794.

Francis Hopkinson was born in Pennsylvania in 1737. He became distinguished in the law and was always noted for his wit. He was a poet of considerable merit, and wrote several

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pamphlets on political subjects. He was a delegate to the Congress in 1776, and in 1780 he was elected judge of admiralty for the State of Pennsylvania. In 1790 he was appointed district judge. He died in May, 1797.

John Hart was born in New Jersey. He was a man of strong mind and decided principles. He left his plow for a seat in the Continental Congress in 1774, and remained there till after he had affixed his name to the Declaration of Independence. He was an active patriot during the war, and suffered much at the hands of the Loyalists. He died in 1780 and was buried at Rahway, New Jersey.

Abraham Clark was born at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, on February 15, 1726. He was a self-taught, strong-minded, energetic man, able and willing to perform a variety of service. He became popular, and in 1776 was elected a delegate to Congress. He was active in the public affairs of his State till his death in the month of June, 1794.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Robert Morris was born in England in January, 1733, came to this country when a child, and was educated in Philadelphia. He was apprenticed to a merchant, and at twenty-one commenced business for himself. Remarkable for energy, acuteness, and strict integrity, he was very successful, and possessed the entire confidence of the community. He was sent to the Continental Congress in 1776, and throughout the war was considered the ablest financier in the country. For a long time his individual credit was superior to that of Congress itself. He lost an immense fortune, and died in comparative poverty on May 3, 1806.

Benjamin Rush was born near Philadelphia on December 24,

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1743. He graduated at Princeton College in 1760, commenced the study of medicine the next year, and in 1766 went to Edinburgh, where two years later he received his degree of M.D. He returned to Philadelphia in 1769, where he was elected professor of chemistry in the College of Pennsylvania. He was elected a member of the Congress in 1776, and from that period until his death he took an active part in public affairs, politics, science, and general literature. He stands in the highest rank of American physicians and philosophers. He died on April 19, 1813.

Benjamin Franklin was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on January 17, 1706. He learned the business of printing with his brother, and while yet a lad wrote many excellent articles for publication. When seventeen years old he left his brother and went to New York, and from thence to Philadelphia in search of employment. He settled in the latter city, became acquainted with men of learning and science, and finally went to London, where he worked at his trade for some time. He returned to Philadelphia in 1732, and pursued the profession of a printer for many years with great success. He was appointed clerk to the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1736, and the next year, postmaster. He began a popular magazine in 1741. He was very active in public affairs, and was sent to England as agent for several of the colonies. He returned home in 1775 and was immediately elected a delegate to the Congress. He was appointed commissioner to the court of France in 1776, where he remained several years in efficient service. He was the first minister to the court of Great Britain and assisted in negotiations for peace. He returned to Philadelphia in 1785, when he was elected president of Pennsylvania, and continued in office for three years. He died April 17, 1790. On his death Congress ordered a general public mourning throughout the United States.

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John Morton was born in Delaware, of Swedish parents, in 1724. He took an active part in political affairs, and in 1765 was elected a delegate from Pennsylvania to the "Stamp Act Congress," which assembled in New York. He filled various civil offices in Pennsylvania, and in 1774 was elected to the Continental Congress. He remained a member for nearly three years. He was one of the committee which reported the Articles of Confederation, and died soon after that report was presented to Congress.

George Clymer was born in Philadelphia in 1739. Being left an orphan, he was reared by a paternal uncle, who gave him a good education, intending to prepare him for the mercantile profession, but general science and literature had more charms for him. He was a decided patriot, and in 1776 was elected to the Continental Congress. He served several years in that body, and in 1781 was a member of the legislature of his native State. He was a revenue officer at the time of the "Whisky Insurrection" in Pennsylvania, and there did efficient service in quieting the rebellion. His last public duty was a mission to the Cherokees in 1796. He died January 24, 1873.

James Smith was born in Ireland, but was educated in Philadelphia, where he studied law. He began professional life on the frontiers of Pennsylvania, where he had great influence. In 1776 he was elected to the Congress, where he served for several years. He resumed his profession in 1787. He relinquished practice in 1800, after a professional career of about sixty years. He died in 1806.

George Taylor was born in Ireland in 1716, and came to America when a young man. He obtained a clerkship in a large iron establishment. Many years afterward he married his employer's widow and became possessed of considerable property.

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He was a member of the Pennsylvania Legislature before the Stamp Act excitement. Being an ardent Whig he was elected to a seat in the Continental Congress in 1776. Although he was not present to vote on the resolution for independence, he gladly affixed his name to the *Declaration*. He retired from Congress the following year and moved into Delaware, where he died February 23, 1781.

James Wilson was born in Scotland in 1742. He was thoroughly educated in Edinburgh, emigrated to America in 1766, and became a tutor in the Philadelphia College, where he studied law. He became eminent in his profession, and in 1774 was chosen a member of the Provincial Congress of Pennsylvania. He was elected to the Continental Congress in 1775, where he continued for several years. He was appointed an assistant judge of the United States Supreme Court in 1789, and held that office until his death, which occurred on August 28, 1798.

George Ross was born at Newcastle, Delaware, in 1730, and began the practice of law at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, on reaching his twenty-first year. He was a member of the Assembly in 1768. In 1776 he was sent to Congress, advocated the Declaration of Independence, and signed his name to the important document. He was very active in public life. He died in July, 1789.

DELAWARE.

Cæsar Rodney was born at Dover, Delaware, in 1730. He was an active politician as early as 1762. He was a member of the Stamp Act Congress in 1756, and in 1768 was speaker of the Assembly of his State. He was a fine writer, and his pen was actively employed in the cause of liberty. He was a member of the first Continental Congress, and remained in that body until the close of 1776, when he took the field as brigadier of

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militia. He was chosen president of the State after the adoption of a State Constitution. He died from a cancer in the cheek, which incapacitated him for business, early in 1783.

George Read was born in Maryland in 1734, and was educated in Philadelphia. He studied law, and was admitted to the bar while yet a youth. He commenced practice at Newcastle, Delaware, and was soon afterward elected a member of the State Legislature. He was chosen a delegate to the Continental Congress in 1774, where he remained for several years. He was president of the convention which framed a State Constitution for Delaware. He was appointed an admiralty judge in 1782. In 1786 he was a member of the first convention to revise the Articles of Confederation. In 1793 he was made chief-justice of the Delaware Supreme Court. He died in the fall of 1798.

Thomas McKean was born in Chester County, Pennsylvania, in 1734. He entered a law office at an early age. He was a member of the Stamp Act Congress in 1765, and from that time he was active in public affairs, always on the side of popular rights. He was a Delaware member of the Continental Congress in 1774. In 1776 he was returned again as a member, and voted for independence. He took an active part in military affairs during the war, and after its close he was called to fill many important civil offices. He was president of Congress in 1781. For twenty years he was chief-justice of Pennsylvania, and in 1799 was elected governor of that State. He retired from public life in 1812, and died on June 24, 1817.

MARYLAND.

Samuel Chase was born in Maryland in 1741. He received a good classical education in Baltimore, studied law, and began

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its practice in Annapolis. He soon became a popular and distinguished man. In 1774 he was chosen a member of the Continental Congress, and remained a member until 1788. He moved to Baltimore in 1786, and two years later he was appointed chief-justice of the Criminal Court of that district. He was soon after appointed chief-justice of the State. In 1796 he was appointed to the United States Supreme Court, which office he held for fifteen years. He died on June 19, 1811.

Thomas Stone was born in Maryland in 1740. He was a lawyer by profession, and an early patriot. He served in the Continental Congress from 1774 to 1778, having in the meanwhile signed the *Declaration* and assisted in the formation of the Articles of Confederation. He was active in his own State until 1783, when he was again elected to Congress. He was present when Washington resigned his commission, and in 1784 he was president of that body *pro tempore*. He died on October 5, 1787.

William Paca was born in Harford, Maryland, on October 31, 1746. He was well educated, and studied law at Annapolis. He soon became conspicuous, and in 1771 was elected to the State Legislature. He was a member of the Continental Congress in 1774, reelected in 1775, and remained in that body till 1778, when he was appointed chief-justice of the State of Maryland. In 1782 he was chosen governor. He was district judge for the State when he died in 1799.

Charles Carroll was born in Annapolis, Maryland, on September 20, 1737. His father being a Roman Catholic, he was sent to France to be educated. He returned to Maryland in 1765. He took an active part in public affairs, and was elected a member of the Continental Congress in 1776, and signed the *Declaration*. He retired from Congress in 1778, and after tak-

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ing part in the councils of his native State was elected United States Senator in 1789. He retired from public life in 1801, and lived in the enjoyment of accumulated honors till November 14, 1832. He was the last survivor of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence.

VIRGINIA.

George W'byte was born in Virginia in 1736. His parents were wealthy. He chose the law for a profession. He was a member of the Colonial Legislature of Virginia, and in 1775 was elected to the Continental Congress. Like other signers of the great *Declaration*, he suffered much from foes, especially in loss of property. He was Speaker of the Virginia House of Delegates in 1777, and the same year was appointed judge of the High Court of Chancery. He was afterward appointed chancellor, and filled that office with distinction for more than twenty years. He died on June 8, 1806.

Richard Henry Lee was born in Virginia on January 20, 1732. He was educated in England, and soon after his return in 1757, was elected a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses. He was elected to the Continental Congress in 1774, and in 1776 had the honor to offer the resolution declaring the colonies free and independent. He was a very active member of Congress during the greater part of the war. He was appointed United States Senator under the Federal Constitution, which place he filled with great ability. He died on June 19, 1794.

Thomas Jefferson was born in Shadwell, Albemarle County, Virginia, on April 13, 1743. He was educated at William and Mary College, from which he early graduated. He studied law, and when a very young man was admitted to the bar. He was a member of the Virginia Legislature before the Revolution,

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where his talents as a writer were appreciated. He was elected to the Continental Congress in 1775, and in 1776 was one of the committee appointed to draw up the Declaration of Independence. Ill-health prevented his acceptance of an embassy to France, to which he was appointed in 1778. He was elected governor of Virginia in 1779. In 1781 he retired from public life and devoted his time to literary and scientific pursuits. He was sent to France to join Franklin and Adams in 1783, and in 1785 succeeded Franklin as minister there. Washington appointed him Secretary of State in 1789, which office he held till 1793. He was elected vice-president of the United States in 1797, and in 1801 was elevated to the chief-magistracy. He was reëlected in 1805, and after eight years' service as president he retired from public life. He died on July 4, 1826 (on the same day as John Adams), just fifty years after voting for the Declaration of Independence.

Benjamin Harrison was a native of Virginia. He was educated at William and Mary College, and commenced his political career in 1764, when he was elected to the Virginia Legislature. He was elected in 1774 to the Continental Congress, where he continued till the close of 1777. He was chosen speaker of the Virginia House of Burgesses early in 1778, and held that office till 1782, when he was elected governor of Virginia. He retired from that office in 1785, but remained active in public life until his death, which occurred in April, 1791. He was father of William Henry Harrison, the President of the United States.

Thomas Nelson, Jr., was born in York, Virginia, on December 26, 1738. He went to England to be educated, and graduated at Cambridge with a good reputation. He entered upon political life soon after his return to America, and in 1775 was elected to the Continental Congress. He held a seat there during

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the first half of the war, and in 1781 was elected governor of Virginia. He was actively engaged in a military capacity at the siege of Yorktown, when Cornwallis and his army were made captives. He died on January 4, 1789.

Francis Lightfoot Lee was born in Westmoreland, Virginia, on October 14, 1734. In 1765 he was elected a member of the House of Burgesses, in which he continued a delegate till 1775, when he was sent to the Continental Congress, and remained in that body till 1779. He died in April, 1797.

Carter Braxton was born in Virginia on September 10, 1736, and was educated at William and Mary College. Possessed of wealth, he went to England, where he remained until 1760, when he was called to a seat in the House of Burgesses. He distinguished himself there in 1765, when Patrick Henry's Stamp Act resolutions agitated the Assembly. He succeeded Peyton Randolph in the Continental Congress in 1775. He was active in the National Legislature and in that of his own State. He died on October 10, 1797.

NORTH CAROLINA.

William Hooper was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on June 17, 1742. He graduated at Harvard College in 1760, and then began the study of law. He visited North Carolina in 1767, and fixed his permanent residence at Wilmington. He represented that town in the General Assembly in 1773, and the next year was elected a member of the Continental Congress. After affixing his name to the *Declaration* in 1776, he resigned his seat, in consequence of the embarrassments of his private affairs, and returned home. He was elected judge of the Federal Court in 1786, but ill health compelled him to retire from office the year following. He died in October, 1790.

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Joseph Hewes was born at Kingston, New Jersey, in 1730, and was educated at Princeton College. He prepared for mercantile life, entered successfully upon that pursuit, and at the age of thirty located at Wilmington, North Carolina, where he accumulated a fortune. He was a member of the Colonial Legislature several consecutive years, and was elected to the Continental Congress in 1774. He continued in that body until 1779, when sickness compelled him to retire. He died on November 10, 1779.

John Penn was born in Carolina County, Virginia, on May 17, 1741. His early education was neglected, but a strong mind overcame many obstacles. He studied law and began its practice in 1762. He went to North Carolina in 1774, took a high position at the bar, and in 1775 was elected to the Congress. He was an active member of that body until 1779, when he returned home. He retired from public life at the close of the war, and died in September, 1788.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Edward Rutledge was born in Charleston, in November, 1749, and was educated at Princeton College. He completed his legal education in England and returned home in 1773. In 1775, when but twenty-five years old, he was elected to the Continental Congress, and remained a member till the close of 1776 and was reëlected in 1779. He was made a prisoner at Charleston in 1780. After his release he engaged in the law until 1798, when he was elected governor of the State. He died on January 23, 1800.

Thomas Hayward, Jr., was born in South Carolina in 1746. After receiving a thorough classical education, he began the study of law. He completed his legal education in England, and re-

